Tory Victory in Britain?—*Keith Hutchison*

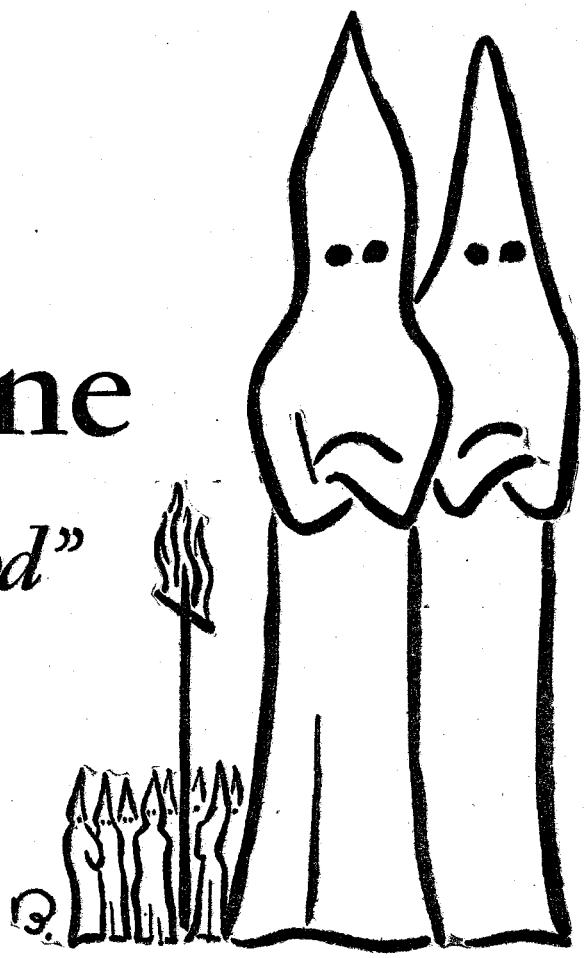
THE *Nation*

September 29, 1951

The Klan Un-Klandestine

"Fantasies Dark as Blood"

BY JOHN POWELL



The World Newsprint Famine

BY ANDREW ROTH

SEP 29 1951

Johnson City, Tennessee

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RADIO SURRENDERS TO McCARTHYISM

An editorial printed in the Capital Times *of Madison, Wisconsin, on September 11, said in part:*

THE *Capital Times* recently carried an editorial charging that the news services, the Associated Press, and the United Press have been slanting and manipulating news reports in favor of Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin in order to fit the bias of the big and conservative newspaper publishers who control and dominate these news services. . . . Today the *Capital Times* makes the same charge against the radio networks. . . .

An experience which the editor of the *Capital Times* has just gone through is pertinent.

About two weeks ago the editor of the *Capital Times* was asked if he would become one of "four of the country's distinguished editors" in a discussion of present political trends . . . for a Sunday night NBC program which is called "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." The editor agreed to take part in the program, and a tape recording setting forth his views was sent to the NBC in Washington.

Imagine our surprise when we were told on Sunday that Senator McCarthy would be given time on the program to reply to the editor's talk. . . . Obviously, had the editor known that McCarthy was to be given time on the program, he would have tape-recorded an entirely different talk. He would have taken the occasion to ask the Senator some pointed questions that McCarthy has been deftly ducking the last two years. McCarthy made no reference at all in his reply to the points made in the editor's speech but used his time to rehash the same old line about the *Capital Times* that he has used to place the label of "Communist leanings" on all newspapers that have had the temerity to expose his record. . . .

But even more astonishing than the manner in which NBC permitted Senator McCarthy to barge in on the proceedings was the way that Washington representatives of the NBC gutted the editor's speech. . . . Please note that all reference to McCarthy's public record in Wisconsin was eliminated. . . .

This incident, we believe, significantly supplements others in showing how the radio network, too, dare not permit a word of criticism of McCarthy on its broadcasts without running to McCarthy to give him the immediate opportunity to blackguard all critics and opponents with his guilt-by-association technique. . . .

Only recently the President took occasion to speak out against those in this country who are using character assassination and slander to create distrust and fear among the people of the country in violation of the spirit of free inquiry and freedom for the spoken and printed word. The President did not mention McCarthy by name. But McCarthy demanded time on the networks to reply to the President, and the demand was quickly granted. . . .

Months ago Senator McCarthy, from his usual foxhole of immunity on the Senate floor, attacked Drew Pearson and urged newspaper publishers and the radio networks and sponsors to boycott Pearson. This was one of the worst assaults on freedom for the printed and the spoken word that has taken place in years. And yet . . . both newspapers and networks were cowed and silent and preferred to discuss the threat to freedom of speech and inquiry represented by the happenings to a great newspaper, *La Prensa*, down in Argentina. . . .

The speech which Mr. Evjue sent by tape recording to the National Broadcasting Company appears below. The paragraphs in italics were deleted from the speech as broadcast.

A COMPARISON of present discernible trends with what was happening a year ago gives the best clue to what the impact of McCarthyism will be on the 1952 campaign. The most significant thing about Senator McCarthy's campaign today is that he is being maneuvered from an offensive to a defensive position.

A year ago when I was in Washington the McCarthy offensive had reached its peak. It appeared to me that he had chased everybody into the cyclone cellar.

Senators sat frozen in their seats as he hurled his charges of 205, or 57, or 81 card-carrying Communists in the State Department. They seemed stunned. Before the evidence to disprove one charge could be gathered he hurled even more spectacular charges. The newspapers were silent, seemingly afraid to criticize—or just bewildered by the senatorial scattergun shots he fired from his sanctuary of immunity on the Senate floor. He had only to make a demand to make a radio network available to him.

There are now signs that the wave of his offensive has been broken against the good sense of the American people. The President of the United States has taken the lead in striking back at the fear and distrust McCarthy's campaign has engendered. Members of the Senate are accepting the challenge of the methods he has used. The Monroney committee has unanimously condemned his part in the Maryland campaign against Senator Tydings. Senator Benton of Connecticut has asked the Senate to give consideration to an expulsion resolution.

We are beginning to see news stories for the first time carrying the words "McCarthy explained" or "McCarthy defended." He is being pushed into a defensive role. It is a role that he cannot successfully support. If he is on the defensive his own record will come before the public—a record he has successfully hidden behind his campaign against communism. That record is one which has been condemned in Wisconsin by the state Supreme Court, by the State Board of Bar Commissioners, and by the income-tax authorities, who have been quarreling with him over his failure to report income and pay taxes. It is a record which includes the inadequately explained payment to him of $10,000 from the Lustron Corporation. There's that $5,500 crap game down in Columbus. It is a record that even his party leaders in this state agreed before he started his Communist campaign would assure his defeat in '52.

The nation has waited for more than a year for Senator McCarthy to prove his charges. Five hundred fifty-seven days have elapsed since he first made his charges at Wheeling, W. Va., that he held in his hand the names of 205 card-carrying Communists in the State Department who were known to Secretary Acheson. In those 557 days Senator McCarthy has failed to produce proof against a single person. In his desperation to keep the offensive he has made even more reckless and irresponsible charges, including the charge that General Marshall is part of a conspiracy to sell this nation out to the Communists.

There are unmistakable signs in Wisconsin that McCarthyism is running its course. He has been condemned by several young Republican organizations in this state, groups from which he once commanded strong support. Secretary of State Zimmerman, one of the wisest and most potent vote-getters in Republican ranks in Wisconsin, has come out publicly against him. There are other signs that McCarthyism has run its course here in Wisconsin.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE MILITARY NOW outweigh the political and economic aspects of defense was pointed up by the unanimous recommendation of the North Atlantic Council at Ottawa that Greece and Turkey be taken into the "Atlantic community." The expanded defense area to be covered by the treaty guaranty will include, it is understood, the entire Mediterranean. Whether the designation "North Atlantic" will also be expanded has not been revealed, but the present label is more than merely misleading; it makes ridiculous the whole idea of regional agreements. Coupled with the American deal with Franco Spain and the imminent rearming of Germany, the admission of Greece and Turkey to the Atlantic Pact will effectually end the concept of a democratic union in defense of the "free world." What we are constructing instead, with breathtaking speed, is an old-fashioned military alliance equipped with "fantastic" new-fashioned weapons. That our Western allies, small and large, are alarmed by this development was clearly demonstrated at Ottawa. They would have preferred to move more cautiously, maintaining as far as possible their economic and political equilibrium. They dread the challenge to the Kremlin implicit in the forces now summoned against it. They understand the political value of the appeal to freedom which they now see tossed away, a forfeit to military expediency. The smaller countries also fear they may be taking on obligations beyond their interests and power. But at Ottawa they acquiesced in the American-made plan, emerging with one modest safeguard, the Committee of Twelve proposed by France, which will consider the over-all needs of the nations in the pact and try to achieve some sort of balance between military demands and economic capacities. Ottawa ended in agreement and anxiety.

✶

EVENTS IN WASHINGTON HAVE NOT HELPED to assuage the worries of our allies. Neither their military strength nor their enthusiasm is likely to be advanced by the insistence of Congress on slashing economic aid in favor of purely military assistance to N. A. T. O. countries. President Truman asked for $2,500,000,000 in economic aid; the House cut this to $1,600,000,000, and the Senate butchered it down to $880,000,000. The Administration vainly pointed out that by helping Western Europe to expand its production through more economic aid, we would bring military "end items"—guns and tank destroyers—into being more cheaply than by making the "end items" ourselves and shipping them overseas. The European Committee for Economic Development warned last summer that the "real sinews of power" of the West are "political and economic stability, social cohesiveness, equity in the distribution of income," and declared that the "costliest error" of the West would be to act "as though rearmament and security were synonymous." Perhaps the first job of the new Committee of Twelve will be to convince the American Congress that neither rearmament nor security will result if Europe's standard of living is allowed to collapse.

✶

THE STRIKE OF SOME 750 WORKERS ON THE pineapple plantations of Lanai in Hawaii, which began on February 1, has finally been settled. The workers have won an industry-wide agreement with seniority rights, union security, and a wage increase of 15 cents an hour for the Lanai workers and of 7 cents for the other plantations. The Hawaiian Pineapple Company owns the island of Lanai, which is entirely given over to the production of pineapples. Before the workers were organized in 1945, trespass laws kept union organizers from setting foot on the island, and workers who were fired had to leave in twenty-four hours. With a tough anti-union policy the company has combined a touching hearts-and-flowers public-relations program; for example, 500 Lanai workers who were permanently laid off were given a "going away" party by the company, complete with hula girls and carnation leis! The Hawaiian Pineapple Company is one of Castle and Cooke, Ltd.'s most lucrative enterprises. (Castle and Cooke, Ltd., is one of the Big Five companies—the others are Alexander and Baldwin, American Factors, C. Brewer and Company, and Theodore Davies and Company which have long held a tight grip on the economy of Hawaii.) The company reported a net profit of $4,635,989 for 1949—an increase of 59 per cent over 1948—

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and a net profit of $5,353,583 for 1950. In the five years since the end of the war it has invested more than $11,000,000 in new equipment out of reserves and accumulations, and has shown net profits after taxes of more than $33,000,000. The strike just settled was the longest in the island's history of marathon strikes.

*

IMPORTANT ISSUES ARE INVOLVED IN THE refusal of the West Virginia State Board of Education to accept the recommendation of President George H. Hand of Fairmont State College that the teaching contract of Dr. Luella R. Mundel, head of the Art Department, be renewed. At a meeting of the board in May, objection to the renewal of Dr. Mundel's contract was made on the basis of a secret denunciation, unaccompanied by any evidence or proof, which the board had received from a subordinate in the same department. Previously, Dr. Mundel had recommended that this instructor's contract should be renewed. The president of the college, after taking seven weeks to investigate the charges, supported Dr. Mundel and advised against renewal of the instructor's contract on the ground that he had been guilty of a breach of professional ethics. The board, however, rejected both recommendations; refused to grant Dr. Mundel a hearing or furnish her with a statement of the charges; renewed the contract of her accuser; and then released a statement to the press that Dr. Mundel was being let out "for the good of the college." At least one member of the faculty, Dr. Spaulding Rogers, has resigned in protest.

*

IN REFRESHING CONTRAST TO THIS ACTION, Dr. Colgate W. Darden, president of the University of Virginia, has relieved Dr. Homer G. Richey of his assignment as assistant professor in the Woodrow Wilson School of Foreign Affairs on the recommendation of nine members of the Council of Deans. A faculty committee and the Board of Visitors had already rejected for lack of evidence charges of left-wing bias which Dr. Richey had made against three colleagues. President Darden, in a letter to Dr. Richey, criticized "the manner in which you have attempted to arouse the passions of people—already deeply troubled and apprehensive over communism—against your colleagues, the school of which you are a part, and the university under whose control it functions."

*

THE GRAND JURY INVESTIGATING THE Cicero, Illinois, race riot (see Cicero Nightmare by Homer A. Jack in *The Nation* of July 28) has returned indictments against six men, including the chief of police. The astonishing thing about the indictments,

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however, is the identity of the other defendants: the former owner who had rented the apartment to the Negro tenant; the attorney for this owner; the attorney for the Negro tenant; the real-estate agent who negotiated the transaction; and a man accused by the Cicero police of inciting the riots by handing out "Communist Party leaflets." One must assume that sufficient evidence was presented to the grand jury to warrant its action. But the indictment of the former owner of the apartment house will surely make other apartment-house owners cautious about renting to Negroes under similar circumstances, and that of the real-estate agent will not encourage other agents to show rental units in "white" neighborhoods to Negroes. Indeed, the more one thinks about these indictments the "curiouser and curiouser" they become.

The Case of the Chinese Officers

ON AUGUST 21 the Chinese Nationalist government ordered the recall of two ranking air force officers stationed in Washington, Lieutenant General P. T. Mow and Colonel V. S. Hsiang, for having failed, it was said, to account for $19,440,000. More than a month has passed, but the two officers have not yet received any follow-up communication from Tapei. A statement issued by the Chinese embassy on September 13 implied that the Chinese government regretted the haste and violence with which the charges were made and the publicity they had received.

In the meantime the officers have made some interesting revelations to Al Friendly of the Washington *Post* and Anthony Leviero of the New York *Times* concerning graft in the Nationalist regime. They referred, for example, to an order for aviation gasoline placed with the Chung Foo Company, whose agent in this country is South China Enterprise, Inc., which turns out to be a grocery store in San Francisco's Chinatown occupying premises of about fifteen by twenty-two feet, with live assets of only a few hundred dollars. They also objected to the operations of the Central Trust in China, which is said to be controlled by the "C. C. clique," meaning the brothers Cheng Li-fu and Cheng Kuo-fu, relatives of the Generalissimo. With respect to an order for aviation fuel placed by Central Trust with a New York brokerage firm, General Marshall is reported to have remarked that it "smelled."

Of even greater interest, however, are the transactions of the Commerce International Corporation, a supply organization for the Chinese Nationalists which functions through a world-wide network of operating subsidiaries. Last year the British Board of Trade denied export licenses to the London subsidiary of C. I. C. when it tried to sell surplus British war material to Communist China! On another occasion this subsidiary sought to supply 78,000 tons of German steel to Mao Tse-tung and nearly succeeded. When C. I. C. tried to sell the Nationalist government 108 Bren-gun carriers which it had picked up in Britain, State Department officials themselves tipped off the Chinese embassy to the fact that the Chinese "stood to take a licking" on the purchase. Then there is the item, picked up by Drew Pearson, of an order for 5,300,000 gallons of aviation gasoline placed with United Petroleum Company of Los Angeles, a company not even in existence when the order was placed.

Apparently the Nationalists began to fear, in the summer of 1949, that the United States might eventually recognize Communist China, in which case Nationalist funds on deposit in American banks would be frozen. Overnight mysterious bank accounts, usually in the names of individuals, were opened in the major cities of three continents. It was at this time, and as part of this strategy, that C. I. C. became the pet of the "Chou dynasty," which runs the Nationalist government as successor to the "Soong dynasty." To cement the relationship, C. I. C. has established a group of some thirty American military experts to advise the Generalissimo. The group includes a retired four-star admiral—Charles M. ("Savvy") Cooke, Jr., former Chief of Staff to Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King—three retired Marine Corps generals, and a host of lesser officials, non-coms, and civilians.

The revelations of the Chinese officers clearly support the demand of Senator Wayne Morse for an investigation of the activities of Chinese Nationalists in this country, including, of course, the intrigues of the China lobby. A source close to the White House has suggested that such an investigation would reveal "how the Chinese around Chiang, who lost an empire in China, built a new political empire in this country." Although there is little visible enthusiasm for Senator Morse's proposal, some of the friends of the China lobby have begun to hedge. Senator William Knowland, for example, feels that the FBI should by all means "satisfy itself completely" that the Chinese Nationalists are free of corruption. Why the FBI? Isn't the Senator one of the most devoted and vocal exponents of "the informing power" of Congressional inquiries? The FBI is not conducting the investigation into the affairs of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Thanks to some effective newspaper work and the cooperation of the two Chinese officers, the handsome ornamental doors which open on the many-roomed mansion which is the China lobby have been wedged slightly ajar; now is the time to open wide these doors and take a look inside.

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Tory Victory in Britain?

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

THE betting on the results of Britain's forthcoming general election has opened with odds of six to four in favor of a Tory majority. That is probably a realistic appraisal, for the Labor government's recent "form" has not been that of a winner. It has, of course, been dogged by bad luck. The promised harvest from the seeds of economic expansion and social reform sown between 1945 and 1950 has partially withered in the fierce heat of the post-Korean international crisis. But Labor has shown no great ability or inspiration in the face of difficulties, and it looks like a government of mentally and physically weary men which an equally weary electorate may seek to replace, hoping that a change in political direction will bring better times.

Yet as recently as early July, when I discussed the situation at Labor headquarters in London, party officials expressed considerable optimism. The Gallup polls had been indicating some recovery in the government's popularity, and at that time there were hopes that the Korean armistice negotiations, which had just started, would prove fruitful and that a way out of the impasse in Iran would be discovered. Had these hopes been fulfilled, the government's prestige would undoubtedly have risen. As it is, Mr. Attlee and his colleagues have no success in the international field with which to offset the deterioration in the domestic economic situation. Growing shortages of coal and power foreshadow another grim winter; a rapidly mounting trade deficit suggests a new balance-of-payments crisis unless drastic steps are taken to reduce imports, with all that implies for the British standard of living. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the public-opinion polls should have shown a decline in the government's popularity since July.

The latest Gallup return gives the Tories 49 per cent, Labor 39 per cent, the Liberals 10.5 per cent, and minor parties 1.5 per cent. Moreover, the Liberals are planning to put up candidates in less than half the constituencies that they contested in the last election, and the Tories can probably count on enough Liberal votes to give them a plurality of the electorate. Indeed, Tory chances look so good at this moment that party leaders are already warning against over-confidence.

The greatest danger of the Tories, however, is that they will be tempted to coast along on a program of "turn the rascals out" instead of putting forward positive policies of their own. They are committed to maintaining the social services, and they have indorsed the rearmament program, which is manifestly a cause of economic strain. Yet they also hold out hopes of lower prices and taxes and fewer controls. Some of these promises appear incompatible, and it remains to be seen whether the Tories can tie them up together in a way that proves convincing to the voters.

Another Tory handicap is the continued leadership of Mr. Churchill, whose dominance of his party has discouraged the emergence of new blood and new ideas. Moreover, while the British people retain a huge respect for his past achievements, many of them are doubtful about his qualificatinos as a peace-time leader. Although, to do him justice, he has discouraged the "gunboat" group in his own party during the Persian crisis, there are still fears that, once in power, Mr. Churchill might turn to foreign adventures. That is why Labor spokesmen, while supporting rearmament as a means of deterring aggression, stress the dangers of "Tory imperialism" and "blustering threats of force."

The Labor Party's chief problem in the campaign may be to overcome apathy in its own ranks. There can be little doubt that among the rank and file of the party there is much sympathy with the contention of the Bevan group that the government has adopted an over-ambitious rearmament program and thereby endangered the social reforms which have been its greatest achievement. In view of the fact that the annual party conference which opens at Scarborough on October 1 will now be overshadowed by the election campaign, it is probable that the much-advertised trial of strength between the party executive and the Bevanites will be called off. The latter have sought to establish themselves, not as a "rebel" movement, but as a "loyal opposition," and they will certainly try to avoid rocking the boat at this critical moment. Already Mr. Bevan has issued a call to his followers to close ranks behind Prime Minister Attlee and concentrate on the paramount task of defeating the Tories.

Recent events, including the world-wide rise in commodity prices which is endangering Britain's solvency, suggest that the British economic and social structure is being strained to a greater extent than the Cabinet expected when it raised its defense-plan sights early this year. To that extent the Bevanite criticisms have been justified by events, so that some revision in the tempo of the program, if not in its total, may become necessary. However, the government, which through Mr. Gaitskell at Ottawa has just reaffirmed its intention to complete the arms program in full and on schedule, can hardly be expected to admit such a necessity at this time. The party platform adopted at Scarborough is likely, therefore, to slide over the rearmament controversy by concentrating on the means by which the burdens of defense may be more equitably distributed. The most recent policy statement of the party's National

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KEITH HUTCHISON, financial editor of The Nation, *has just returned from a three months' visit to England.*

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Executive, "Our First Duty—Peace," stressed the point that "the greatest sacrifice should be asked from those who have large unearned incomes and who enjoy a high standard of living without making any contribution to the nation's effort." This at least is a thesis in which the left wing can concur enthusiastically.

Why Papagos?

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

WHILE the North Atlantic Treaty countries meeting at Ottawa discussed the admittance of Greece to membership, the Greek situation stumbled along in what has now become a state of chronic debility. The normal post-election confusion and intrigue will soon merge into the normal instability. Eventually there will be new elections, the pattern will be repeated, and the United States will continue to maintain in Greece the largest Marshall Aid mission in the world.

In midsummer, when Field Marshal Alexander Papagos magnanimously responded to "the call of the people," *à la* De Gaulle, and formed the Greek Rally movement, the State Department hopefully jumped on his bandwagon. Here was a figure, untainted politically, who promised a mailed fist, and a *right* one at that. If anyone could straighten out the Greek puzzle without offending either Senator McCarthy or the Greek shipowners, it was the over-publicized Papagos. Obviously inspired stories came out of Washington in support of the Marshal's candidacy. The Scripps-Howard papers carried two articles within three days. The first, by Parker La Moore, reported that Papagos had "called on the people to join *him* in a program for the country's peaceful reconstruction." Government in Greece, La Moore wrote, "seems to have lost all power of initiative. The administrative machinery is bogged down under a top-heavy, unwieldy bureaucracy. Petty factionalism resulting in a multiplicity of political parties has produced a legislative stalemate. With little incentive to work and produce, the country has surrendered to frustration until it is little more than an American-supported WPA project." Many a newspaperman was smeared as a Communist for making the same observations a few billion dollars ago.

One of the most interesting aspects of the September 9 elections was this exposure of the truth about conditions in Greece by the group most responsible for them—the reactionary, royalist right. The right-wing Greek newspapers which flocked to the support of Marshal Papagos sounded like leftist publications, with their denunciations of the post-war governments and their wailing over the plight of the worker and peasant.

Not many people were fooled by this high-handed attempt of the right to cloak its bankruptcy by dropping the jaded leaders of the past and getting behind a new, untried political personality. Consequently, although the Marshal served as a rallying-point for the declining forces of the royalist right wing, he did not win the sweeping victory his backers had predicted. He received the votes of those Greeks who in the previous elections (March, 1950) had voted for the royalist Populist Party of Constantin Tsaldaris, the Democratic Socialist Party of George Papandreou, the personal party of Kannelopoulos, the Metaxas residue party of Maniadakis-Kotzias-Tourcovasilis, and the New Party of Markezinis.

The parties of Tsaldaris and Papandreou, were practically wiped out by defections to Papagos. The other parties had already joined the Marshal's Greek Rally movement. The combined vote of these five parties in the 1950 elections was more than 45 per cent of the total. In the elections of three weeks ago Marshal Papagos received less than 35 per cent of the total vote.

To continue the comparison with the 1950 elections, General Nicholas Plastiras and his left-of-center Progressive Union increased its proportion of the popular vote from 16 per cent to nearly 24. The Liberal Party of Premier Sophocles Venizelos gained roughly 2 per cent over its 1950 showing, to reach 19 per cent. The Union of Democratic Leftists, composed of Communists, fellow-travelers, and other left groups, received 11 per cent, passing its 1950 total by 1 per cent. The republican vote, therefore, showed a gain of 11 per cent as against the 10 per cent decline in the royalist vote.

This is not how the New York *Times* read the results. Only two days after the elections (on September 11) and long before the final tally had been reported, the *Times* editorially installed Marshal Papagos in the premiership and noted that he had "been brought to power on a wave of popular revulsion." Setting aside the propriety of the premature investiture, anyone who has been reading the *Times's* dispatches from Athens or its editorials on Greece for the past three years must have been hard put to understand this "popular revulsion." For years now the readers of the American press have been assured that the Greek situation was well in hand. The Communist guerrillas had been defeated; the Greek people were happy though poor; and the country was moving rapidly toward peaceful recovery.

The good gray *Times* was merely echoing Washington's wishful thinking. Papagos, "the man on the white horse," seemed to offer an easy, respectable, safe way out of a perennial dilemma. The *Times* and the State Department preferred to close their eyes to the obvious staging of the Papagos campaign by Greece's big-money crowd. And they have failed to notice, because they don't approve, that the Greek people are once again hopefully taking a different route, one which may, in the long run, offer some chance of peace and stability.

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The Klan Un-Klandestine

BY JOHN POWELL

Wilmington, N. C., September 20

VIEWING the cross burning and the robed and rallied Klansmen in a Columbus County, North Carolina, cornfield one hot Saturday night recently, you were surprised again at the persistence in the Southern soul of those dark and bitter places the performance was designed to exploit.

The rally, the first to be held thereabouts in some years, represented a cautious recruiting foray into a section where the tobacco was in and pockets were as full as they get. Most of the rank and file of the robe-wearers were from Horry County, which is just across the South Carolina line and bound to Columbus by many ties of blood. But pre-rally rumblings from some North Carolina officials, a recent stringent anti-masking law in South Carolina, and the fact that the wave of feeling that swelled the Klan after the war was subsiding, even in its home areas, put them pretty much on the defensive and brought some changes in tack.

Many of the Klansmen appeared without masks, although some of them wore spectacles with big rubber noses attached. Reporters and photographers, previously the object of special Klan animosity, were all but given engraved invitations. Membership application blanks passed through the crowd repeated at least three times, "Do not apply if you want your brother-in-law or neighbor whipped." Thomas L. Hamilton, a citizen of Leesville, South Carolina, Grand Dragon of the Association of Carolina Klans and one of the principal speakers of the evening, warned from the platform: "If you see something you don't like, don't mob up. Tell it to your law-enforcement officers. That's the way the Klan wants it." After the meeting Hamilton, bearing out a general belief that the rally had been planned to disarm by sweetness and openness, said to the reporters: "Don't be too hard on us now, and come back to see us. It wasn't at all what you thought it would be like, was it?"

But assuming that it was merely a cynical money-making raid, the means employed to put it across, and still more how they succeeded, were astounding. Ostensibly to evade an 1869 North Carolina law ("passed by carpetbaggers and scalawags," said Hamilton) prohibiting the wearing of masks in public places, the rally was staged on a dusty field halfway between the towns of Whiteville and Tabor City. There was a pre-game festivity in the lines of cars, the flares in the middle of the road, the strains of the Washington Post March over the public-address system. But, once on the field, you saw the robed and hooded figures waiting and the lighted platform backed by a big red-and-white sign showing a white-hooded rider on a white-aproned horse and the words: "Yesterday, today, and forever." It was strange commerce or strange sport.

There were the ninety or so Klansmen, the rank and file in white robes and hoods, a half-dozen honor guardsmen in black robes with white sashes, long white capes with red linings, and white hoods, Hamilton in green, and Bill Hendrix, the other speaker and, according to the program, "governatorial candidate and Grand Dragon of Florida," in bright blue. There was the burning of the tow-soaked cross, the men marching awkwardly in figure eights and horseshoes, some bearing lighted fuses stuck on the ends of branches. There were the prayers: "America can get right if everybody gets on their knees agonizing before Jesus Christ." There was the crowd, some 5,000 persons standing in the hot night along the strand of barbed wire strung before the platform, veering from the restless neutrality of any crowd to clapping and shouting agreement as the speeches got going. But most of all there were the speeches.

Hendrix, a square-faced, stocky man, was making a political speech, and he backtracked several times to cover himself ("there are 90 per cent good men in the Jay Cees"; "there are some KKK men in the C. I. O."). But he produced an awesome range of dislikes concerning which he apparently felt that no tact was necessary. He disliked newspapers ("they said they'd try to keep us from speaking, but they can't under Article I of the Constitution of the United States"); the Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Junior Chamber of Commerce ("when they show pictures of Jay Cees meeting with nigras, then it's clear they don't believe in segregation"); the University of North Carolina ("the hot spot of communism and socialism all over the country"); liberals ("they want the white vote and the nigra vote too"); people who think the KKK is subversive ("the next man who says that, I'm going to sue him for libel. When it comes to the time that white men are put on the subversive list, then it's going too far"); people who think Klansmen are criminals ("when have you ever seen a Klansman convicted? We don't put up with it"); the C. I. O. ("leaders of the C. I. O. come to the South for a definite reason: to mix white and nigra"); Sidney Hillman ("trained in Russia"); Eleanor Roosevelt

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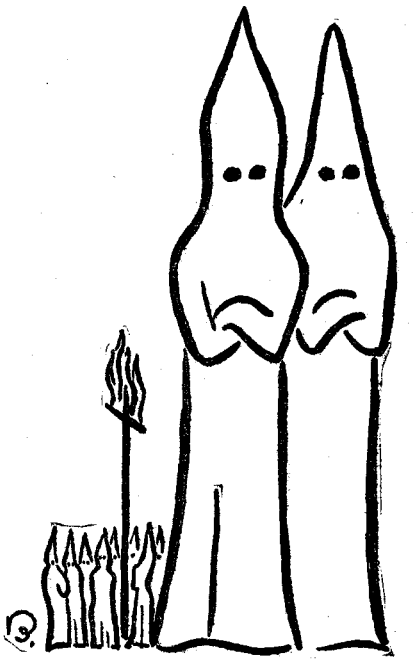
("she came down here and said how bad we treat nigras"); predominantly Negro areas ("voted 98 per cent for Graham and Pepper"); Communists ("they want to throw our white women before their nigra storm troopers"); certain ministers ("they won't mention Jesus Christ for fear of hurting some Jew's feelings"); people who think Jesus was a Jew ("show me that in the Bible and I'll eat it"); people who think the Jews are God's chosen people ("that's not in it either"); bureaucrats ("if I get to be governor, the bureaucrats will get out or I'll throw them out"); Bernard Baruch ("dangerous"); Felix Frankfurter, Anna Rosenberg, "Max" Lilienthal ("Jews"); and Jews, Jews, Jews ("all but one of the Communists that have been arrested are Jews. It's like that in every country. . . . All the trouble with the nigra comes from Jews. . . . The press is controlled by Jews with masks of respectability sitting in their offices drinking liquor. That's where you get those dirty editorials. But the Klan will fight for freedom of the press").

Against this overpowering sweep of hatreds Hendrix had a slender lists of likes. He had a good word to say for J. Edgar Hoover ("he says from 12,000 to 15,000 Protestant ministers are fellow-travelers"); the Guide to Subversive Organizations ("the Klan has never been on that list"); "Weep No More, My Lady," a pamphlet opposing Mrs. Roosevelt's columns on the South ("he really told her. You ought to read it"); "Washington Confidential" ("see what goes on up there"); Article I of the United States Constitution ("get it and read it. It guarantees freedom of speech"); and the Klan.

Hendrix ended his speech with a plea for long-distance help in his campaign for the Florida governorship: "If you know anybody in Florida write 'em and tell 'em to vote for a white man."

HAMILTON was serious and priestly, had a sweet smile, and behaved like an eager master of ceremonies. The audience roused with him. "Amen," they said. They laughed and clapped. "Not that," they shouted. "Uh-uh. No." In spite of the unlikely company into which he brought it, he pursued the religious motif hard through his speech. It was like a thread kept constantly running with which he reached out for all sorts of objects, however mismated they appeared, and gathered himself quite a motley quilt of opinions. He seemed to true himself up to his hearers as he went on, so that toward the end he was saying exactly what they wanted him to say.

"It's all right to have a speakin' like this," he assured the crowd. "No man can stop the Klan from meeting when it's ready." He referred to a number of requests for Klaverns from North Carolina towns, assuring them that "we're going to band white Protestant Gentiles together here," then caught that back into his religious theme by saying that he was a Baptist and that he was "proud that the Baptists have not joined the National Council of Churches," which, he said, is trying to say that "Jesus was a bastard child." Then he skimmed out again into sexual perverts in Washington ("we don't need that kind of people") and the Administration. "Who is to blame for our rotten government?" he asked sadly and reasonably. "Nobody but you and I, nobody but the taxpayers. Are you sitting home listening to the radio? Are you hanging around the filling station drinking Coca-Cola? Take down your Bible and read it," he chastened them.



He switched then to the race question. "Do you want some burr-headed nigra to come up on your porch and ask for the hand of your daughter in marriage?" The crowd clapped and shouted. "Not that," they said. "Uh-uh." "But the nigra has put his foot in the door in this country," he warned — especially at the University of North Carolina, which Negroes now attend with whites. "If I had a daughter in that place, I would never let her darken its doors again."

He said South Carolina had passed a sales tax to give Negroes equal school facilities, and "now they don't want that, they want to attend the same schools as white children. No," he cried, "nigras will never enter a white school there as long as the Klan exists. And I don't care what the Supreme Court does about it, blood will flow in the streets of that state before that happens."

Then in the sad pulpit tone, with a rising inflection at the end of each phrase to leave it hanging mildly in the hot night, he said, "I have been in the Klan for twenty-six years, and if I live I'll be in it for twenty-six more. When my time comes to pass away I'll be ready to meet my maker," adding, inconsequentially, "for I am ready to face any man. When I cross the great divide it don't make any difference what happens to my body because God has promised me a new body, holy and incorruptible." But he was out again by degrees, thanking the lady who had brought the flowers for the platform and sideswiping magazine advertisements he had read in which Negro women seek white husbands and the reverse. This was mongrelization, he said, "which God never intended." He waited for the approving shouts to

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die, then added inexplicably, "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder." Next, in a fell swoop, he solemnly dropped his voice and gave them his direst vision. "I believe the Second Coming is near at hand. Get right with God," he almost whispered. "The Ku Klux Klan stands for truth, right, and justice, those three things. We want men who have no lust of office, with ready wills and hands, high honor, ready to face any demagogue and any lie."

But Hamilton aimed to leave them laughing. "What's the S stand for in Harry S. Truman?" he suddenly asked. "Don't say it out loud." "Hey, hey," the crowd shouted. He told a long joke about Truman. Truman had a Negro college student to lunch at the White House, took him to a movie, a night club. At each place Truman would ask, "Do they treat you like this down South?" Finally the youth answered, "No, sir, we got a better class of white people down there."

He warned against ministers who preach "mongrelization." "If your preacher is telling you that, then he needs a special thermostat in hell to burn him with." It was his most successful phrase-making attempt of the night, and it ended his speech.

As he came down off the platform afterward, the crowd gathered around, overawed and awkward, and several sliced out their hands shyly and shook Hamilton's with a sort of gratitude. One plump brunette with glasses grasped his hand fervently and said, "I came seventy-five miles to hear this, and it was better than what I had expected." Hamilton thanked her with warm dignity. Then a thin farmer, bowing and shy, reached for his hand, "I wanta shake that paw, too," he said.

Hamilton anxiously returned to the platform for some last directions to his flock. "Drive carefully going home so nobody'll be hurt. If you want a Coca-Cola you'll find the man out there under the tree. If you get stuck we've got a tractor to pull you out."

The cars parked in the field formed themselves into lines and slowly edged into the road, leaving the cross still burning thinly, and headed out into the twentieth century. You wondered how many of them had been edified and excited by the fantasies of the night, with those prejudices dark as blood, darkened with blood, mixed up with the circusy show and the praying. You had forgotten how the currents sweep by and do not alter the people in the cabins off by the little creeks, in the houses far up the red-clay roads into the woods and up on the raw hillsides.

The World Newsprint Famine

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, September 18

WHEN foreign correspondents meet in London nowadays the conversation of all but the Scandinavians and North Americans is likely to turn on the price of newsprint. Almost all West European, Middle Eastern, and Asian papers have pressed their London representatives into service to hunt up possible sources of this increasingly rare and valuable commodity, which is now officially classified as "an essential raw material." Inadequate recognition of the world's newsprint shortage on the part of the United States has produced considerable resentment among newspapermen abroad.

Unless you frequent the pubs around Fleet Street you no longer hear much about British reactions to the newsprint famine. Britain has had to be satisfied with six- or eight-page papers for so many years that it has adjusted itself to their thinness just as it has to the meager meat ration. Only occasionally now does a British reporter voice the frustration he feels when he has worked up a good news story for which no space can be found or which is dehydrated to a couple of "pars" by a fiendish sub-editor.

Last May, however, there was loud protest when the penny newspaper disappeared—a penny and a half had to be charged after the largest of a long series of increases in the price of newsprint had brought it to six times what it was in 1938. Another yell was heard this summer when reduced newsprint rations made it necessary for eight-page dailies to cut down occasionally to six pages and for twelve-page Sunday papers to become ten-pagers. The publishers claimed that the government should not have reduced its contract with Canadian mills on the chance of reducing dollar expenditures. Indignation is particularly strong in an organization like the *Daily Mirror–Sunday Pictorial* group, which owns forests and mills in Canada but cannot obtain adequate supplies because of the rationing system.

Although their existence is at stake, few newspapers have treated fully the problem of newsprint. It is a ticklish subject, since it illustrates perfectly the absolute economic dominance of the United States and American insensitivity to the resentment thus aroused in the rest

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of the non-Communist world. According to all specialists, the current newsprint crisis is limited to the Western nations. The U. S. S. R.'s fairly small consumption of 360,000 tons—half that of Britain—is 50 per cent above the pre-war figure, but apparently production has kept up with needs. Russian papers usually consider four pages enough. In most satellite countries also newsprint production is reported to have kept up with demand. China, having no forests, has had to import what it uses.

American control of newsprint is shown by the amazing fact that six out of every ten tons produced in the world is fed into the giant presses of United States newspapers. With 6 per cent of the world's population, the United States gets 60 per cent of the world's supply of newsprint. To put it differently, Americans consume eighty pounds of newsprint per capita, Britons thirty pounds, and Indians less than half a pound.

THE rich get richer and the poor get poorer" applies to post-war conditions in newsprint as in many other fields. The United States has increased its consumption from 3,900,000 tons in 1946 to 5,900,000 tons in 1951, the increase being almost one and a half times the increase in world production. As the dominant purchaser, able to take great amounts and offer long-term contracts, it was able to hold down the price increase to about 6 per cent between the spring of 1950 and the spring of 1951. In the same period the cost to Egyptian papers skyrocketed more than 70 per cent!

The decline of Western Europe's newsprint consumption from 2,600,000 tons before the war to 2,000,000 at present—or from 31 per cent of world production to 20 per cent—is a clear symptom of its weakened ability to pay. It is no secret that President Auriol visited Canada last spring not only to revive the traditional ties between French Canada and France but also to plead for an extra allotment of paper. The crisis in France has forced the leading Paris newspaper, *Le Monde*, to limit itself to eight half-size pages, making it one-third the size of the Paris-printed "International Air Edition" of the New York *Times*, which averages twelve full-size pages! The increase in newsprint prices was largely responsible for the death of *l'Aube*, organ of the M. R. P. The independence of other papers has been undermined.

In Belgium 149 publications have gone out of business in two years, mainly as a result of economic difficulties. In West Germany the government has had to appropriate a million dollars for newsprint to keep German papers from going under. Throughout Western Europe papers without strong commercial or party support face extinction. Particularly vulnerable are the financially weak moderate-left journals. In France, for example, many newsmen insist that *Franc-Tireur* exists only by virtue of the friendship of the United States embassy.

The content of newspapers everywhere has been cheapened. *Reynolds News*, the organ of the Cooperative Party in Britain, in an effort to expand its 700,000 circulation has jettisoned much of its political news, replacing it with sexy photographs, serials, and other forms of sensationalism. The few papers which resist this tendency do so at considerable sacrifice.

Almost all papers have increased their prices. This has produced a situation which was graphically described by Orla Rode, president of Copenhagen's Newspaper Publishers' Association. "The common man," he said, "the worker or employee, is gradually ceasing to be able to afford to read a daily paper. Newspapers in Denmark are in the process of becoming a privilege of the well-to-do class; this represents a great danger to a democratic country."

If the comparatively stable press of Western Europe has suffered so badly, it is not surprising to find the casualties even greater in South Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where average incomes are so much lower than in Europe. In these underdeveloped, largely illiterate areas few newspapers have the economic resources to enter into long-term contracts with Canadian or Scandinavian newsprint suppliers, even if their countries could afford the hard currency. With 67 per cent of the world's population, Asia, Africa, and Latin America have to be content with barely 10 per cent of the world's newsprint. And not only that: they must pay, on an average, more than twice what the wealthy United States pays.

"Inequalities in newsprint consumption are far greater than for any other commodity of like importance," comments the UNESCO-sponsored study "The Problem of Newsprint." Newspapers in the "backward" countries have had to scramble for newsprint despite almost microscopic demands. The whole of the Middle East consumes only 25,000 tons—less than the amount used by Ireland. India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, together, with almost a fifth of the world's population, consume about 73,000 tons—less than Holland. Southeast Asia consumes 14,000 tons—about as much as Portugal. This small newsprint consumption is not due primarily to limited literacy. India has about as many literate people as Great Britain, but it uses only one-twelfth as much newsprint—its average income, also, is one-twelfth that of Britain.

At the Paris meeting of UNESCO in July the Belgian and French delegates presented a resolution demanding greater production and more equitable distribution. Khushwant Singh of India emphasized the special problems of Asia's "have-nots." The United States and Norway, representing the "haves," argued that it was a matter for the International Raw Materials Conference.

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Since then this group has made emergency allocations of 25,000 tons, which with Canada's cooperation have alleviated the worst difficulties in France and India.

WOOD pulp for newsprint comes almost entirely from fir trees. About 150,000,000 trees must be felled every year to feed the pulp mills. And since a fir tree takes upward of forty years to grow, more than six billion trees must be a-growing. It is an index of the problem that the 200-page Sunday edition of the New York *Times* alone requires the cutting of 85 acres of Canadian woodland.

Canada produces 54 per cent of the world's newsprint and accounts for 81 per cent of the amount exported. The United States produces 10 per cent, which satisfies only a sixth of its own needs. Britain produces 6.4 per cent and consumes 7.2 per cent. Besides Canada, only the Scandinavian countries have an exportable surplus.

Increased newsprint production requires either an increase in accessible and suitable woodlands or the discovery of some alternative raw material. Experiments are being carried out with elephant grass and, more intensively, with bagasse, a sugar-cane waste. Tests at the United States Forest Products Laboratory in August showed that bagasse can produce stronger and whiter newsprint than wood pulp at about the same price. The next substantial increase in newsprint production will probably come from the building of mills close to the source of bagasse. But a newsprint mill represents a tremendous investment and cannot be built in a day. The Canadian industry, the biggest in the world, prefers, therefore, to depend on its own vast forests.

Currency restrictions are another hobble on production. Britain today does not mill its full capacity, and has in fact converted many of its newsprint mills to other purposes, because it cannot afford the hard currency to import sufficient pulp, despite Marshall aid.

At the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers held here last May, the editors of newsprint-hungry European and Asian papers were surprised to hear Charles F. McCahill, president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, say that the United States is "still very hard up for newsprint." Owing to the tremendous expansion of the American economy United States papers could profitably consume another 2 per cent of world production. The foreign editors were not inclined to be sympathetic since they felt the unrestricted demands of American presses were largely responsible for their own difficulties. Davidas Gandhi, son of the great Gandhi and editor of the *Hindustan Times*, has estimated that the newsprint problems of the rest of the world would be solved if United States publishers volunteered to cut their consumption by 5 per cent, or 300,000 tons. A speaker at the Paris meeting of the Federation of the Technical Periodical Press in June said more sharply that it was "a mockery for people to proclaim themselves champions of freedom of opinion whilst at the same time suppressing the material means of expression."

American editors with a belief in unfettered "free enterprise" may not think this fair comment. But it helps explain why so many handouts by United States information services find their way into the wastebaskets of foreign newspapers.

The Fifth Amendment: Freedom's Bastion

BY LEONARD B. BOUDIN

THE Fifth Amendment—affording protection against compulsory self-incrimination—is today under direct attack from both Administration and anti-Administration forces. Earlier this year Senator McCarran and Attorney General McGrath began to study the problem of how to obtain possibly self-incriminating testimony from persons believed to be Communists. Mr. McGrath has since proposed legislation which would give the Attorney General power to grant witnesses before grand juries, courts and Congressional committees immunity from prosecution. If witnesses are granted immunity, he argues, they can be compelled to testify. His proposal, supported by the Kefauver committee, is embodied in a bill, limited to grand-jury and judicial proceedings, introduced by Senator O'Conor of Maryland and still in committee. Presumably this bill has the support of the President.

For his part, Senator McCarran—no friend of the Administration—has introduced S. 1570, which received the approval of the Senate Judiciary Committee on August 27. This bill would give Congressional committees the power to grant immunity to witnesses by a vote of "two-thirds of the members of the full committee, including one member of the minority party having the largest representation on such committee." Senator McCarran points out, rather facetiously, that "the proposed new statute has no special application to Communists

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but would eliminate this problem, as well as their claims of privilege, by granting immunity as broad as the constitutional privilege itself." Before the Fifth Amendment is emasculated under the guise of "fighting communism," however, it might be well to consider the legal and political realities with which it deals.

Legal protection of political freedom under our system depends principally upon two provisions of the Bill of Rights: the First Amendment, protecting freedom of speech, association, and belief; and the Fifth, protecting against self-incrimination. The two rights are related, since the danger of self-incrimination increases as the scope of the First Amendment shrinks.

DURING the past three years serious inroads have been made on what civil-liberties lawyers call "First Amendment freedoms." First came the Supreme Court's refusal to review the Barsky and Hollywood Ten cases on June 14, 1948, and April 10, 1950. These decisions ended a person's right, under the First Amendment, to keep silent concerning his political views. Then came the decision in *American Communications Association* v. *Douds,* on May 8, 1950, in which the court upheld, for the first time, the government's imposition of economic sanctions for political views. There an evenly divided court declared constitutional the Taft-Hartley "non-Communist" affidavits, whose execution and filing were made a condition to the use of the National Labor Board's processes by labor unions. Finally, on June 4, 1951, the Supreme Court, in deciding the Dennis case, upheld criminal penalties for proscribed associations and beliefs.

The Truman Administration, however, has been unwilling to recognize that once certain political acts are made illegal, those engaging in them become entitled to protection against self-incrimination. Thus, despite the original indictment of the Communist leaders in July, 1948, for violation of the Smith act, federal grand juries in Denver and Los Angeles proceeded to examine various witnesses concerning their knowledge of the organization and activities of the Communist Party. When these witnesses tried to invoke the Fifth Amendment, the prosecution countered with the ironic contention that the Communist Party was a lawful organization —citing the Schneiderman decision—and it was upheld by two federal judges. Sentences ranging as high as a year in jail were then imposed. Two Circuit Courts commented scathingly upon the prosecution's attempt to lull the witnesses into a sense of security. Ultimately the Supreme Court, on December 11, 1950, in the Blau case, ruled that the right to protection against self-incrimination had been properly invoked.

The government's second flanking attack on the Fifth Amendment bastion took the form of prosecuting for contempt a number of witnesses who had claimed the protection of the Fifth Amendment when the House Committee on Un-American Activities inquired about their knowledge of the Communist Party, its members, officers, and affairs. Virtually all these witnesses were acquitted on the ground that they had correctly invoked the Amendment. Despite great pressure, the courts had refused to surrender the bastion.

The McGrath and McCarran proposals seek to undercut the reluctance of the courts to rob the Fifth Amendment of its meaning. The basic objection to both bills is that they do not give witnesses full protection. The plain truth is that complete immunity cannot be given to those charged with political crimes. A person charged with political heresy, and particularly one compelled to confess it, is subject to myriad penalties. Under Executive Order No. 9835 setting up the federal loyalty program, as well as under the McCarran act, such a person cannot be employed in government or in "defense facilities." Public Law No. 525 (Eightieth Congress) permits the Coast Guard to withhold licenses on political grounds from radio operators in the privately owned merchant marine. The screening program conducted by the Coast Guard bars political heretics from employment in the longshore and shipping industries. Furthermore, the person compelled to reveal proscribed political views now forfeits the right to obtain a passport, to bid for government contracts, or to apply for a license to run a broadcasting station, and suffers other disabilities as well.

Today the federal loyalty and security programs, not to mention the denunciations of Congressional committees, have such a direct relation to a person's ability to earn a livelihood that it seems hardly necessary to note the effect of such policies on opportunities in private employment. It is clear, however, that the federal government's example tends to be followed not only by state and local governments but by private employers in many fields. In normal times possible loss of a job might not be valid ground for invoking the protection of the Fifth Amendment, although this is suggested by early English cases. But as we approach the point where a person's ability to gain a livelihood is wholly dependent upon his political views, a different conclusion must be drawn.

THE grant of immunity in the McCarran and McGrath proposals is specious for the additional reason that Congressional committees cannot give witnesses immunity against *state* prosecution. The witness who testifies before a Congressional committee or grand jury as to his membership in a "subversive" organization may very well be subject to prosecution under state sedition, criminal-syndicalism, or registration statutes. In recent years the Supreme Court has held that witnesses must testify when assured of immunity by a federal statute

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despite the danger of punishment under state laws. This ruling, however, is a departure from the early constitutional doctrine of both Marshall and Holmes. It is based upon the unlikelihood, in cases of ordinary commercial crime, of prosecution by one sovereign power after testimony before the other. But who will seriously suggest today that radicals who escape federal prosecution will be overlooked by the states?

In fact, recent decisions in state courts, particularly those of Michigan and New York, have held it to be a "travesty on verity" to say that a person is not exposed to self-incrimination under these circumstances. Particularly in cases involving political crimes and "subversion" have state and federal un-American activities committees and law-enforcement agencies shown a marked degree of cooperation. Not long ago a Massachusetts grand jury indicted Professor Dirk J. Struik of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the state and federal governments. This action came less than two months after Dr. Struik had declined to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party. A significant line of decisions holds that when one authority cooperates with another in securing illegal evidence, it can be put to use by neither. This principle may well support a return to our earlier constitutional law in testing grants of immunity in political cases. But the sanctions available and in use are unlimited in number and variety. New York's loyalty bill, for example, gives state and local governments the right to ban suspected "subversives" from security jobs. Witch-hunts have been conducted in any number of municipal departments; teaching systems have been closely scrutinized. And what shall we say about the Jean Fields case in California, where a court order deprived a mother of custody of her children because of her political views? Is the mother in such cases protected by an immunity statute, or is the denial of custody not to be regarded as punishment?

By a strange freak of chance, the Internal Security Act of September, 1950—the McCarran act—may prove the constitutional obstacle to the proposals of Senator McCarran and Mr. McGrath. That law requires the registration of officers and members of certain "Communist organizations." It makes it unlawful for them to be employed by the federal government, to apply for or use a passport, or to fail to register with the Attorney General if the organization has not disclosed their names. Material mailed or broadcast by such outfits must plainly indicate that the source is a "Communist organization." In addition, the President, by declaring the existence of an "internal security emergency," can put in a concentration camp anyone "as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in, or probably will conspire with others to engage in, acts of espionage or of sabotage." The coverage of the act is extremely elastic, not only because communism is broadly defined but because the definition is coupled with a statement that "the agents of communism have devised clever and ruthless espionage and sabotage tactics."

WITH all this in mind, can we believe it is the intention of Senator McCarran or Mr. McGrath to grant a witness compelled to admit that he is a Communist immunity from the punitive provisions of the McCarran act? If he received this immunity, he would be entitled to a passport, to clearance for government employment, and to freedom from registration or possible detention in a concentration camp. Senator McCarran is not that generous. It can be assumed, of course, that neither Congressional committees nor local United States attorneys would conceal their discoveries from the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice or any other branch of government. Hence a witness asked to confess his political views simply cannot afford to act as if the McCarran act were non-existent.

It should also be recognized that proposals to emasculate the Fifth Amendment, if enacted, would disastrously encourage political informers. Whatever may be the justification for using informers in a narcotics or other routine criminal case, there is none for using them in so-called political crimes or heresy. The history of informers from the days of Titus Oates to the present testifies to the disrepute attaching to any system of law which depends on this kind of evidence. It has also been found, not once but many times, that the informer frequently becomes an *agent provocateur* who engages in illegal conduct for the purpose of incriminating those whom he is paid to spy on. The proposed legislation would breed that kind of creature.

The Administration cannot have it both ways. It has obtained judicial approval for the most drastic curtailment of civil liberty in American history. It cannot, therefore, now compel Americans to don the insignia marking them for destruction. The Fifth Amendment is a measure of protection: the greater the impairment of other rights and privileges, the wider its scope and the more pervasive its effect. It stands as the last bastion of freedom when so many others seem to be falling. Those who seek to destroy it while giving it lip service have their answer in the prescient words of Justice Rutledge in a 1942 opinion:

> With world events running as they have been, there is special reason at this time for not relaxing the old personal freedoms won, as this one was, through centuries of struggle. Men now in concentration camps could speak to the value of such a privilege if it were or had been theirs. There is in it the wisdom of centuries if not that of decades.

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Indonesia: The Youngest Republic

BY DOROTHY WOODMAN

London, September

WHEN Indonesians hoisted their red and white flag in Djakarta last month, they were celebrating their sixth birthday. Nominally their sixth; but in fact they have not been masters in their own house continuously during the last six years except in part of North Sumatra. They did not, as they hoped, end Dutch rule in 1945 when they ended Japanese occupation. Twice—in July, 1947, and in December, 1948—the Dutch tried by military means to regain their control, and it was not until December 31, 1949, that sovereignty was "unconditionally and irrevocably" transferred to the independent Indonesian state. The Round Table agreement at that time was a compromise. To the Indonesians it meant that they were economically, financially, and militarily still part of the Dutch system, with West Irian (the Indonesian name for New Guinea) a strategic Trojan horse within their own boundaries. To the Dutch it meant the withdrawal from an empire they could no longer hold.

When we realize that the Indonesians have in fact had less than two years of self-rule it is easy to understand why their political life is so amorphous, their administration so patchy, and their part in world affairs still so small in comparison with their population, their resources, and the vast extent of their territory. These youthful defects hit the visitor to Djakarta in the eye; there are too many officials, too many cars, and too many Dutch. Yet this is almost the only face which Indonesia shows to the world; foreigners usually stay in Djakarta in Dutch hotels, enjoy the amenities of the Harmone (a Dutch club), spend a week-end in the luxury hotels (Dutch) in Bandoeng or in the airline hotels in Bali. They hear the constant propaganda aimed at denigrating Indonesia. Moreover, the ineffective, often amateurish publicity put out by Indonesian officials plays into the hands of those Dutchmen—by no means all the Dutch in the islands—who still dream of the good old days when charming servants were cheap, plentiful, and obedient, food was abundant, and a constant stream of guilders flowed back into the home country.

It is from such Dutch sources that one hears all the exaggerated stories of murder, robbery, and violence in Indonesia. I proved the absurd untruth of the charge that outrages were common against anyone with a white skin in a recent trip, unaccompanied, to Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, and Celebes. I found nothing but extreme friendliness, to which was added the happy excitement of men, women, and students suddenly offered an unexpected opportunity to try out their knowledge of English, often self taught. Lawlessness there has been of course; it has in fact been centered largely in those areas where Dutch troops were stationed in accordance with the terms of the 1949 Round Table Conference agreement. With the departure of the last Dutch troops two months ago, one of the government's most difficult problems is also disappearing.

I came to the conclusion after many talks with Indonesians and Dutch, official and unofficial, in most of the areas involved that lawlessness must be divided into four types. First, and most important, were the rebellions led by Westerling in South Celebes and West Java and by Soumokil in Makassar and Amboina. Many deserters from the Dutch army who cooperated with Westerling in West Java are still at large, well-armed and a focus for discontented or gangster elements. Army units under Dutch command which assisted Soumokil are also still at large. Secondly there are the activities of fanatical Moslem groups in West Java. They raid villages and loot and sometimes murder, and the government has too long postponed an organized campaign against them. Thirdly, mainly in East Java and East Borneo, various belligerent groups have a political background and motive: in East Java, where many thousands were arrested in a combined army and police campaign, they are the aftermath of the Communists' rebellion in 1948; in East Borneo they want to end the Dutch oil monopoly.

Mixed with these groups as well as operating separately in roving bands there are often gangster types—young men who have never settled down to a normal life after their guerrilla warfare against the Japanese and, later, against the Dutch military "actions" of 1947 and 1948, as well as the criminal type which operates in every country. Dutch agents find them very useful; recent arrests in East Java revealed three Dutch intelligence agents directing bandit gangs. If the government carries out its intended campaign in West Java, it will probably find others who are willing to be used to stir up trouble in the republic. In any case, it must be said that Dutch propaganda, both in Indonesia and in Holland, has done a great disservice to both countries and to their relations with each other by exaggerating this problem of lawlessness and disorder.

The uncrystallized quality of Indonesian political

DOROTHY WOODMAN is an English journalist who has recently visited Indonesia under the auspices of the New Statesman and Nation.

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life creates another type of problem. I happened to be in and out of Djakarta during the five weeks when Cabinet *formateurs* tried to persuade this and that group of politicians to make a Cabinet. What, I often asked, are the differences between parties? The Masjumi is the largest and the most widely organized, but its appeal is fundamentally religious and it has no clearly defined social program, although there are able, progressive men on the left who are near to the Socialists in outlook. The P. N. I. (National Party of Indonesia) has the advantage of including President Soekarno among its leaders, but it lives on the capital of its past nationalist struggle and has no real program for the future. Then come half a dozen small parties which have little *raison d'être* except their hope to obtain a seat in the government.

The Communist Party exercises more influence in the trade unions than in the political life of the country. The Socialist Party, led by Sjahrir, has a delegation in Parliament, though it chose not to be represented in the government. It has in its ranks some of the most capable young men and women in the country, many in the civil service, and if its leaders face responsibilities as energetically as they calculate tactics, they may yet prove a decisive influence in Indonesian politics. Unless and until there is a general election, politics will remain a matter of personal maneuver rather than of party program. Meanwhile the uncertainties of a government which is not fully responsible to the people are often reflected in uncertainties in administration. The result is that a great deal of first-class ability in Djakarta is concentrated on the production of blueprints which require continuity of personnel and direction for their fulfilment.

OUTSIDE Djakarta, personal politics, indeed politics altogether, seem to matter much less in the lives of the people. Indonesian society is naturally democratic. Nowhere except in Hinduistic Bali do restrictions of caste divide people into unnatural categories; the power of the Sultans in most areas—but not perhaps in South Celebes—has been either challenged or broken following the defeat of their Dutch sponsors; the land, partly as the result of an enlightened Dutch land policy, belongs to the peasants and farmers. In traveling from the north of Sumatra, through Java, Bali, and Borneo to the north of Celebes—a distance roughly equal to that between the Lakes of Killarney and the Caspian Sea—I had many opportunities of seeing this democracy functioning through the headmen of the villages, the *bhupati* of the districts, and the governors of the provinces. I found great ability, imagination, and devoted service to the republic. I was struck too by the passion for education which I met everywhere, the conviction that this was the clue to progress, the challenge of independence.

This demand for education, among adults as well as among children, creates all kinds of problems; in Central Sumatra 11,000 children were ready to go to the middle school this summer, but teachers and accommodation exist for only 2,000. In the far distant reaches of the Kapuas River in Central Borneo, the Dyaks are similarly alive to the need for education; last year they built ninety-one new schools, and one of their leaders told me of efforts they are making to develop a common language for the forty-nine tribes. The Toradjas in Central Celebes recite the same story; from a central educational fund raised among them, they have sent 500 students down to the nearest middle school in Makassar. In a few years, many of them told me, they will go back to start middle schools in their own villages, and they look forward to a university in Makassar.

Usually these schools, often very simple and very scantily equipped, are run by the local authorities. But in the Bogar area of West Java I came across schools set up by the ex-guerrilla teachers themselves. In Bukki Tinggi (Central Sumatra) the Women's Organization was running an excellent domestic-science school, and in Banjermassin (South Borneo) and Menado (North Celebes) the women had started primary schools.

Parallel with this urge for education goes the desire to build up Indonesian industries. Here even greater difficulties are met than those in the field of education. There is first of all the large proportion of industry in the hands of the Chinese. Then there is the shortage of technicians in every field. Time will solve this problem; in the meantime foreign technicians can be of great assistance, especially Dutchmen who have knowledge of the country, provided of course that they have good-will. I met Dutch people whose loyalty to the republic was unquestioned: in North Sumatra in charge of light industries, in Pontinac and Bandjermassin and elsewhere advising on financial problems, on the draining of swamps, on training in business methods. Communications are a third problem; the Dutch always paid a disproportionate attention to Java, and the Indonesians tend to do the same. Not only are communications practically non-existent in most of Borneo, Celebes, South Sumatra, and the Moluccas, but inter-island transport is still a Dutch monopoly. This limits inter-island trade and slows down the essential transference of population from Java, where five-eighths of the people live, to the enormous empty spaces of the other islands.

That economic conditions are as good as they are today is to a great extent the result of natural riches, a wonderfully fertile soil, and the abnormally high prices which world conditions produce for rubber, copra, and oil. Not without reason Indonesians would brush aside their present difficulties and say to me: "Just give us five years."

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Faulkner: An Experiment in Drama

REQUIEM FOR A NUN. By William Faulkner. Random House. $3.

ALMOST alone among the older American writers William Faulkner continues to show creative restlessness, experimenting with new forms and widening the bounds of his subject matter. Though his latest book is uneven, partly magnificent and partly an ambitious failure, it is an admirable example of his continued exertion, his refusal to rest on laurels, his undiminished curiosity about problems of craft. Since the praise of Faulkner is now so fulsome and indiscriminate, I had better say, however, that there is nothing here equal to his best work: nothing like the tragic lyricism of "The Sound and the Fury" or the scenic power of "Light in August."

A three-act play with narrative intervals setting the background for each act, "Requiem for a Nun" is a sequel to one of Faulkner's weakest novels, "Sanctuary." In "Sanctuary," you will recall, the feather-brained bitch, Temple Drake, after an accident with her drunken escort, Gowan Stevens, found herself captive of a satanic mobster, Popeye. And liked it. In the Memphis brothel to which Popeye took her she developed a passion for Red, a young tough whom the impotent Popeye provided as his sexual substitute.

Now, in "Requiem," Temple and Stevens are respectably married, parents of two children, but still tortured by a need to show each other gratitude and forgiveness. Wearied by this regimen of cautious goodness, Temple decides to run off with Red's younger brother, who has appeared in Yoknapatawpha to blackmail her with the lascivious letters she had written during her Memphis excursion.

To this plan there is only one obstacle: a Negro woman named Nancy, a reformed dope addict and ex-prostitute whom Temple employs as a nursemaid and confidante for an exchange of memories about youthful sin. Nancy, in the name of the children, begs Temple not to run off, and when she is rebuffed, strangles Temple's baby to forestall the greater tragedy of both children being left homeless. Condemned to die, Nancy shows no fear: she is in God's hands.

If this play is produced, it is likely to suffer from the same weaknesses it reveals in print: Faulkner hardly troubles to dramatize his story, the bulk of it is told by Temple—after many tedious hesitations—to auditors on the stage. This is the familiar Faulkner strategy of spiraling back from a troubled narrator to a troubling action, but in a play it won't do unless the action is *shown.*

The strength of the play rests in its characterization of the whites. In previous books Faulkner has expressed a striking distaste for the doings of young women, partly as an accommodation to folk humor and partly from an obscure governing bias; but Temple, one of the foulest of his females, is treated with surprising sympathy and a fine sense of how even slight aging can modify character. Gowan, who had learned to drink like a gentleman in his Southern college, is also well done: far more resonant a character than in "Sanctuary." But Nancy is a problem.

All Faulkner's recent books reveal an intense concern with the Negroes, an inability to rest in whatever his latest opinion of them may be, a need to keep pressing at the limits of his mind. This, and not his much-quoted philosophical sermons, seems to me the sign of his strength as novelist and moralist. Unfortunately, in "Requiem" he is so obsessed with the Negro as a force or a presence that he does not establish a Negro as a person. Lacking the rich particularity of a Dilsey or a Lucas Beauchamp, Nancy never comes to life; featureless and bloodless, she is merely a moral wraith, a Voice. Her murder of the white child is hard to take in terms of ordinary human motivation, and therefore hard to take in terms of Faulkner's intended symbolism. More troublesome still is the weight Faulkner seems to be imposing, from the most admirable of motives, on the Negroes —nothing less than the salvation of the whites. In a way opposite to his advocacy of "states' rights" in "Intruder in the Dust," he may here be a little unfair to the Negroes: isn't he asking too much of them? What they want and need is equality, not the job of saving the whites—*that* the whites will have to do for themselves.

Before her death Nancy engages in a religious dialogue with Temple and Uncle Gavin Stevens, the one Faulkner character who is consistently boring. Nancy proclaims, "Believe." Temple asks, "Believe what?" Replies the Negro woman, "Believe." No doubt, this will excite those critics who adore simple faith (in others), but to me it seems mere sentimental piety. Temple's question is very much to the point, and Nancy's answer—well, it is no worse than most of the answers one gets these days. In general, it really does Faulkner no service to glide over his recent fondness for pontificating, or to treat all of his work as if it were gilded gospel, beyond evaluation and requiring only hushed exegesis.

The narrative interludes are another matter: here is the major Faulkner, the imaginative chronicler of a region and a people. One interlude, called "The Courthouse," is written in a winding breathless style which serves beautifully for a humorous recall of the Yoknapatawpha past. This section is partly a paean to the vanished American wilderness, for Faulkner the source and scene of mobility, freedom, and innocence; partly a witty anecdote of how the loss of a lock, the vanity of a mail rider, and the shrewdness of an early settler led to the building of Yoknapatawpha's first courthouse.

Still better is "The Jail," a loping forty-nine-page sentence of rich but clear prose: rhetoric splendid and controlled. Both rhapsody and elegy of the Yoknapatawpha past, "The Jail" is also a review of Faulkner's own legend, touching on most of his past books and ending with a recognition that the

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South, now absorbed into "one nation," barely exists any more as a separate region, the "old deathless Lost Cause" having become "a faded (though still select) social club." Faulkner will probably write more books about Yoknapatawpha, but "The Jail" seems likely to serve as a valedictory to his world; time has caught up with him or he with time; and for those who have immersed themselves in this world, even if with the consciousness that they are not of it, his impassioned farewell will seem a gesture infinitely sad.

IRVING HOWE

Fanfare Misplaced

JOURNEY FOR OUR TIME. The Journals of the Marquis de Custine. Edited and Translated by Phyllis Penn Kohler. Introduction by General Walter Bedell Smith. Pellegrini and Cudahy. $4.

NOW and again there falls upon a hapless reviewer the responsibility of speaking out against a book which has caught the fancy of influential persons. Mrs. Kohler's edition of De Custine's notorious Journals is a case in point. Mrs. Kohler is modest about the book, but others have been less restrained. Her publishers advertise it as "a prophetic book . . . a revealing picture of Russia—past, present . . . [*sic*], and future." Ex-Ambassador Smith, in his Introduction, calls it ". . . the best work so far produced about the Soviet Union," and George Kennan speaks of it as ". . . the best existing work on the Soviet Union." Arthur Koestler is quoted as referring to the "rediscovery" of De Custine's book as "an outstanding event both in the world of letters and of politics."

With all due respect to these distinguished advocates of "Journey for Our Time," they are talking nonsense. Though De Custine prophesied many events, including the reestablishment of the power of the Roman Catholic church, his Journals were not prophetic. Neither were they about the Soviet Union. His book was written eighty-five years before there was a Soviet Union. Mrs. Kohler's edition is not a "rediscovery" for the very simple reason that De Custine's book was never lost. Nor was it, as Mrs. Kohler calls it, "a long-closed book to the English-speaking public." As Mrs. Kohler notes elsewhere, there were several English translations of the Journals, including one published in the United States in 1854. One or more of these editions have been continuously available in many public and private libraries ever since. Incidentally, Mrs. Kohler refers to the 1854 edition as "an abridged translation." It was. It was also twice the length of Mrs. Kohler's translation.

My objections to the fanfares for "Journey for Our Time" are basic. History, whether Russian or other, is a story of both continuity and change. To omit either is to distort the story, and the Kohler edition completely omits the element of change. It is true that many of De Custine's comments have a timely sound in our ears. This is partly because certain characteristics are common to all despotism. A contemporary description of despotism in ancient Sparta could, with careful editing, be made to sound just as timely. It is also true that certain norm and value patterns of old Russia have persisted in recognizable form in the new Russia. This is the element of continuity, and a very important element it is. But it is utterly fantastic to pretend that Russia and the Russians have stood still from 1839 to the present. It is also a dangerously misleading doctrine, and it would still be dangerous in this case even if De Custine's original work had been a wholly accurate and complete description of the Russia he saw.

This raises a second main objection. De Custine was an acute observer and a brilliant reporter, but if he saw the whole picture of Russia he did not report it. The Russia of Nicholas I was despotic and repressive and most of the other things that De Custine called it. But there was also another side to that Russia. Russian historians used to refer to this period as "the reign of contrasts," by which they meant that advance existed side by side with tyrannic repression. One has only to look at the history of Russian culture to see a part of what these historians had in mind. Even the autocratic Nicholas was responsible for an enlightened codification of the law. Black as Russia was in many ways, it was not so unrelievedly black as De Custine sought to make it.

Finally, there is a third objection—this one to the incomplete identification of De Custine. Ex-Ambassador Smith describes him as a French aristocrat who, filled with hatred for revolutions, republics, and parliaments, went to Russia to gather arguments in support of monarchism. But De Custine's Russian experience soured him on monarchism and turned him into an advocate of constitutions. Smith calls him a fellow-traveler in reverse, "the first . . . to make public confession of his disillusionment." This is good as far as it goes, but it does not indicate that De Custine took with him to Russia other convictions which he did not change and which impaired his qualifications for impartial observation and reporting. The following passage, quoted from the 1854 edition, will illustrate this point.

> But patience! the times are ripening; soon, every question will be clearly defined, and truth, defended by its legitimate champions, will regain its empire over the minds of nations. Perhaps the struggle which is preparing will serve to convince Protestants of an essential truth, which I have already more than once dwelt upon, but on which I insist . . . : it is that the only really free priest that exists is the Catholic priest. . . . The church of Rome has alone saved the purity of faith by defending . . . the independence of sacerdotal power against the usurpations of temporal sovereignties. Where is the church which has not allowed itself to be lowered by the different governments of the earth to the rank of a pious police? There is but one, one only—the Catholic church. . . . The Graeco-Russian clergy have never been, and never will be anything more than a militia dressed in uniform.—*"Russia." Translated from the French of the Marquis de Custine. New York, 1854. p. 491.*

De Custine had every right to hold and to express such views and to employ such criteria in forming his judgments. But the reader has the right to know about it so that he may form his judgment in turn.

"Journey for Our Time" is useful in that it makes a part of De Custine's writings more readily available to students of Russian history. It also has value as a startling illustration of continuity in history. But as a study of the Soviet Union it is more likely to obscure than to illuminate.

WARREN B. WALSH

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Attitudes Toward Sex

THE FOLKLORE OF SEX. By Albert Ellis. Charles Boni. $5.

THERE are many avenues open to the social scientist who seeks to chart the common anxieties that underlie a society. An easily accessible route, yet one that can be highly revealing, makes use of folklore as its source material. The focus here is on the collective fantasies of a group of people reacting to similar social pressures. The fantasies themselves are never primary in their origins. They are always peripheral manifestations of unsatisfied-need tensions. They represent magical attempts to resolve the discomfort created by the hidden fears and the hidden wishes the members of the group have in common. Their presence provides an excellent clue to the primary roots of emotional conflict. This is the route chosen by Albert Ellis, psychologist, in "The Folklore of Sex," a study of contradictions between the real and the apparent in American sexual attitudes.

Dr. Ellis analyzes the American attitudes toward sex as they are expressed in the popular mass media: newspapers, magazines, radio and television shows, movies, stage productions, popular songs, and popular novels and non-fiction books. He took for his sampling, as far as practical, all the American mass media produced or published on a single day, January 1, 1950. All references to sex were extracted and then broken down into various categories, such as adultery, petting, birth control, masturbation, and a host of others. Each of these, in turn, was analyzed from several directions, but primarily in terms of acceptance or rejection. The voluminous data are frequently redundant, and it must be stated that toward the end the book wears thin. However, as a counterbalance, the author is a facile writer with an engaging sense of humor and a knack for spoofing the very material he is dissecting.

The study demonstrates over and over again in relation to every aspect of sexual behavior that the average American citizen is torn between two opposing forces: his professed attitudes, which conform to social convention, and his actual attitudes, which propel him in the opposite direction. This is the basic conflict that is clearly reflected in the mass media. Each of them, almost without exception, overtly lines up on the side of the existent conventional morality. Yet, at the same time, each not only is replete with sexual material designed to stimulate the sexual sensibilities of its audience but also covertly looks with admiration upon those who are the most successful in circumventing the taboos. This apparent paradox can have only one psychological explanation. The professed anti-sexual attitudes cannot be in harmony with the actual needs of the people who hold them. It is these two sets of contradictory attitudes, as they are expressed in the mass media, that form what Dr. Ellis has chosen to call the folklore of sex. It must not be forgotten, however, that these attitudes are merely the social projections of an identical conflict that is raging within the individual. The end result is the multitude of sexual neuroses and marital problems which plague the American scene.

The wealth of sexual themes in mass media, coupled with a contradictory set of sexual standards, is a phenomenon that is peculiarly American. Many societies have restrictive sexual institutions, but few if any show such confusion about their operation. It is safe to conclude that the intensity of the struggle between the sexual need and the social taboo is currently at a much greater pitch in America than in most other cultures. The reasons for this must interest us. The usual explanations, and the ones offered by Dr. Ellis, are two in number. One is biological, the other economic. The former holds that any impediment to the sexual drive will of necessity create vicarious outlets. The latter ties sex to the profit motive and cites its value as a profit-stimulating device. These are two good reasons, and each no doubt is true, but certainly neither can be defined as peculiarly American. The answer, it seems to me, is more complex and lies in the relationship between our sexual institutions and the total culture.

Ours is a fiercely competitive culture of superlative but often contradictory ideals. The emphasis invariably falls on *success*, and there is little room for compromise without loss of face. It makes no difference that two ideals may be divergent; the high value of success forces the individual to move with equal fervor in both directions. A classical example is American business, where high ethics and sharp practices are simultaneously applauded. Here it is possible to make the required rationalizations, but there is no place for such idealization of opposites in working out an acceptable code of sexual behavior. A biological drive is immutable. One simply cannot be both a celibate and a rake, a madonna and a hellion in bed. Most cultures are content with either one or the other, or at least provide permissible channels for digression, but the American is called upon to perform an impossible feat. The attempt is fraught with conflict; its repercussions saturate our mass media.

This is a particularly valuable book for the unsophisticated reader because it uses source material so blatantly commonplace that no one will have trouble recognizing it. The author quite deftly makes our attitudes toward sex look ludicrous—which of course they are—and only the most blind will miss the point. But none of us need feel immune, for we are all tarred by the same culture. I'm afraid even the most sophisticated reader will find himself laughing

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at the many examples of sexual humor culled from the data by Dr. Ellis. All of which goes to prove, as Dr. Ellis so aptly puts it: "The average American is an individual whose attitudes toward sex are woefully addled, straddled, and twaddled." LIONEL OVESEY

Taubman on Toscanini

THE MAESTRO. THE LIFE OF ARTURO TOSCANINI. By Howard Taubman. Simon and Schuster. $5.

"DON'T SLEEP!" Toscanini roared during a rehearsal of—as it happened—an inconsequential piece by one of the minor Italian opera composers. "Put your blood! *I* put *my* blood!" And if a Toscanini is to be written about, it should be only by someone who likewise—in whatever he does—"puts his blood."

Mr. Taubman's way of operating, in the years I have observed it, has involved no such expenditure. It is well exemplified by the passage in his review of a Stokowski book in which he described what Stokowski had to say about the physical basis of music: "When he gets around to the physical side of music Mr. Stokowski writes more illuminatingly than most musicians. For his is a bold far-ranging, searching mind. Not content merely to study and conduct symphonies, he has gone to the roots of his art. He has made himself an expert on the science of sound. More than any major conductor in this country he knows the science of acoustics and the possibilities of the new fields being opened by scientists. . . . Many other writers have set down their views. But Mr. Stokowski covers the field with a fresh, broad point of view. Etc." This, to my ear, is the writing of someone who hasn't read what he is pretending to describe—the writing, then, of a journalist, in the usual and worst sense of the term: one who doesn't need to read a book to produce the words about it which fill the space assigned to it and which as such constitute, for a newspaper, "coverage" of the subject. And a man who has made a career of producing lifeless words that betray the absence of genuine experience behind them is incapable of understanding something like the intensity of Toscanini's involvement in his work, or of describing it in words that have the ring of authenticity; certainly he doesn't achieve this authenticity by employing artificially colored language to write "how thoroughly his blood stream and very nerve ends are soaked in the stuff [music]" or how "the notes have long since left the page and come alive for him, and yet he returns again and again to the printed page to see whether the flesh and bones are in the right places and whether the blood courses warmly enough."

A Taubman writing about Toscanini the man, then, sets one's teeth on edge; nor have I ever detected in Mr. Taubman's critical writing the slightest evidence of genuine musical perception that would have made him easier to read on Toscanini the musician; and the journalist without musical understanding proves to be an inaccurate reporter of some of the stories he says he has been collecting for twenty years. Thus: "He confided that he had made a recording of Mozart's Divertimento for strings and two horns for the benefit of his colleagues, the conductors. . . . In the slow movement, he had always felt something lacking and decided that what was needed was a cadenza for the first violin. After he had made this addition, Toscanini found a letter from Mozart to his wife which confirmed his hunch." Toscanini did perform the Divertimento to show certain conductors how to play it. But even if I didn't know what he said about the cadenza in the slow movement I would know it couldn't possibly have been what Mr. Taubman reports: the journalist collector of stories dropped this one through the wrong slot. There have been many instances of Toscanini reaching a conclusion about something in a score which had troubled him (the conclusion, for example, that Mozart must have intended the *Larghetto* movement of the Concerto K.595 to be played *alla breve*) and having it confirmed later by documentary evidence. But in the case of the Divertimento the entire point was the fact that the score itself calls for a cadenza in the usual way—the music coming to a halt on the six-four chord followed by a rest for the interpolated cadenza, and then a trill for its conclusion—which any musician should understand. And Toscanini, listening to Koussevitzky's Tanglewood performance, had been horrified at this point to hear the orchestra pause on the six-four chord, break off for the rest, and then simply play the trill and go on. "This man is no musician!" was Toscanini's verdict. "He is *ignorante!*"

There remains the purely factual biographical material; and this I expected would be the valuable material of the book. For the publishers' statement that Mr. Taubman had had "the close friendship and cooperation of several of the Maestro's immediate family," Mr. Taubman's own statement that he had "talked to his friends, colleagues, and family," the fact that he had talked with Toscanini himself during the 1950 transcontinental tour—all these led me to believe that although this was not an authorized biography it presented accurate biographical material obtained from these dependable sources. But encountering details which I knew to be incorrect (e.g. the rehearsal of a Brahms symphony with the New York

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Philharmonic in 1942, on p. 265), and others which seemed questionable, I inquired, and learned that except for the remarks of Toscanini and anecdotes about him that Mr. Taubman had picked up on the tour, the book was mostly a journalist's rewriting of the material in older books and articles, including their inaccuracies. I say "a journalist's rewriting" because such rewrite-jobs are standard practice in the production of articles in newspaper offices; and I will add that the paper's only requirement concerning the statements in such an article is that the writer be able to show they appeared somewhere in print, because that seems to have been the only requirement Mr. Taubman imposed on himself. Which is to say that it was enough for this journalist on the run to read somewhere about Toscanini's having been distressed to discover "that his father had gone to his father-in-law to seek a loan" (p. 70), and did not seem to him necessary to check the story with the Toscanini family, who would have informed him that Carla de Martini's father had been dead a number of years when she married Toscanini. And so with other details.

B. H. HAGGIN

Films

MANNY FARBER

THOUGH "People Will Talk" is basically only a Dr. Kildare story about "good" medicine and "bad," it has been precociously adult-erated into the toniest film of the year. It tells the tale of a miraculous gynecologist (Cary Grant) who embodies all the fortunate attributes of the well-analyzed, well-to-do, liberal know-it-all, and may very likely speak symbolically in defense of well-analyzed Hollywood millionaire-liberals like Joseph L. Mankiewicz, who wrote and directed the movie for Darryl F. Zanuck. We meet this Hippodemocratic whiz-bang at a stormy moment in his career, when he is being attacked by a jealous pip-squeak professor of anatomy (Hume Cronyn) who, driven by resentment, accuses the great Dr. Praetorious of resorting to unorthodox methods of therapy—methods which are never clearly defined to any greater extent than that they include a chummy, considerate attitude toward patients. Working on the broad-minded doctor from another quarter at this particular instant is the pregnant but unmarried Miss Higgins (Jeanne Crain), a fainting, crying, fearful, charming drifter. After missing herself at zero range with a pearl-handled one-shooter, she seduces Dr. P. into an elegant marriage.

The spectator learns a lot of high-falutin nothings about these troubled characters, and even less about the practice of medicine, eccentric or otherwise, since never more than for the briefest moment does the camera quit the lips of the protagonists in order to examine the real business of doctoring. There are, however, a good many daring cracks about such things as illegitimacy, impotence, infantile toilet habits; as a result, the naive and impressionable may be led to believe that this daredevil, Mankiewicz, is raking the medical profession—and certain other American institutions—over the coals. Well, I have no doubt that such was the intention, for "People," like so many other films in the past six years, contains that disguised, free-wheeling leftist attack on American manners and morals that Senators are always looking for but wouldn't recognize if it bit them.

The good doctor is presented by Mankiewicz as a new faith healer surrounded by all those small-minded, cantankerous, inefficient little cogs who make our boring capitalist system run. An eminently successful man who does nothing according to Hoyle, he moves pompously and talkatively through the world, finding something wrong with everything and everyone and showing us, with tired but unflagging urbanity, the way of the truth and the light. He scolds a heartless nurse ("Don't ever let me hear you say that about a patient again!"), looks down his nose at overconscientious note-takers in anatomy class, makes epigrams about our obsession for packaged foods, twitches all over when he visits a prosperous farmer who has a fondness for television and chicken every Sunday. (Mankiewicz has outdone Wilder and Stevens at creating nasty caricatures of minor "representative Americans.") Meanwhile, he takes in Miss Higgins, her misfit poet father (Sidney Blackmer), and a slow-witted giant of a murderer (Finlay Currie), who in gratitude becomes the hero's constant companion and valet. These adoptees, unequal to the demands of our vicious competitive society, find a cosy paradise with Praetorious, his Brahms records, and his Lionel electric trains—so help me. Out of this holocaust of black-white contrasts, overstatements, and simple blind misstatements comes the message—stylistically bootlegged from Wilde, Shaw, F. D. R., anybody—that until we begin living in some mysteriously friendly, understanding, noble relationship with one another, we're pretty far up the creek.

A MOVIE made with considerable more insight and cinematic know-how about its subject matter—though no less biased—is "Saturday's Hero"; putting the blast on college football with all the subtlety and flexibility of Fordham's Seven Blocks of Granite, it sees greedy sadists everywhere except among the gentle, brotherly workers in coal mines and dyeworks. The Millard Lampell story shows a scrapping scatback (John Derek) from the New Jersey

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proletariat being pursued, landed, and then manhandled by an obsessive coach, a big-wheel alumnus (Blackmer again), and one particular All-American end whose apology to the injured Derek goes like this: "I'm sorry, Novak, I really needed the dough, the $150 they offered me if I could put you out of the game." Lampell has constructed his script in brief, active scenes which jolt past the eye like telephone poles seen from a Pullman window. For instance, about five minutes of his script parlays the following shots: Derek's "I love you" to Donna Reed over milk shakes, picture of speeding train, newspaper shot of alumni banquet in Norfolk, spread on Novak in national magazine, speeding train, letter from home ("Poppa not feeling so hot"), close-up of forever troubled Novak, speeding train, distant view of football practice in Jackson Stadium. The more extended scenes are also pretty unimportant. They spit out shots of Donna Reed, a hollow actress with jittery, camera-shy eyes, and of Derek faking most of his acting by a facial expression fraught with intensity because the script-writer apparently forgot to write any dialogue for him.

But this gridiron exposé is probably the toughest sports film since "The Set-up." Someone in the crew was hep to certain football types: the rangy, shy, and almost moronically incurious end; the lanky frosh coach, full of pepper, who is himself a perennial freshman; and the ex-paratrooper fullback who has about ten years in toughness and worldliness on his mates. Having done a good job of casting the team around Novak, the director quietly keeps you aware of each player in the scrimmaging without establishing a special little scene of comedy or glory to make him memorable. The football action approximates the appalling speed and business-machine efficiency of the modern game, while an electrically precise camera man (Lee Garmes) manages to make Derek into a fairly credible pigskin ace. Garmes button-hooks his camera at a swift speed from the forward-passing Derek to a point just behind the receiver, an often-repeated tactic that immeasurably speeds up the play and allows some unlisted Otto Graham to throw the bullet pass for Derek. The movie is spotted with things as nostalgically barren in design as the freshman rooms and as nearly right in poignance as the distant view of a blanketed halfback hobbling forlornly down the sidelines to the dressing room. But all in all the film thrusts so much message and quick fame at its audience that you can almost hear the high-school spectators drooling about all those dollars that are within tackling distance of their ham-sized hands.

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Letters to the Editors

Treated Like Dogs

Dear Sirs: I am an Indian student and recently have come to study in the United States. On the morning of July 3 I arrived at Idlewild Airport. My passport and visa were examined by the health officer and then by the immigration officer. I was kept waiting for eight hours, and then told I was to be sent to Ellis Island, but that I would be allowed to go after a few minutes.

For an hour at Ellis Island I was ushered from one office to another. Finally I was put in a huge hall. It was only then that I became suspicious and tried to get information from the officials but was rebuffed. After talking to others in the hall I found out that I was being detained.

Life at Ellis Island was monotonous and frustrating. The guards were insulting and treated us like dogs. The food was horrible, and the toilets were filthy. The quarters were overcrowded. The days dragged on. There were people of all colors, all religions, and all races at Ellis Island. But all their faces had the same look of misery.

On the eighth day I appeared before the Special Board of Inquiry. Nothing was found wrong with my papers. I overheard one of the inspectors say, "This guy was brought here for no reason at all. This was a blunder of the immigration officials at Idlewild." I was immediately released.

Strangely enough, when I was leaving the island I was looking at the Statue of Liberty. I was considering at that moment whether there was such a thing as liberty in America.

HASHIM M. HASSIM

Cambridge, Mass.

CONTRIBUTORS

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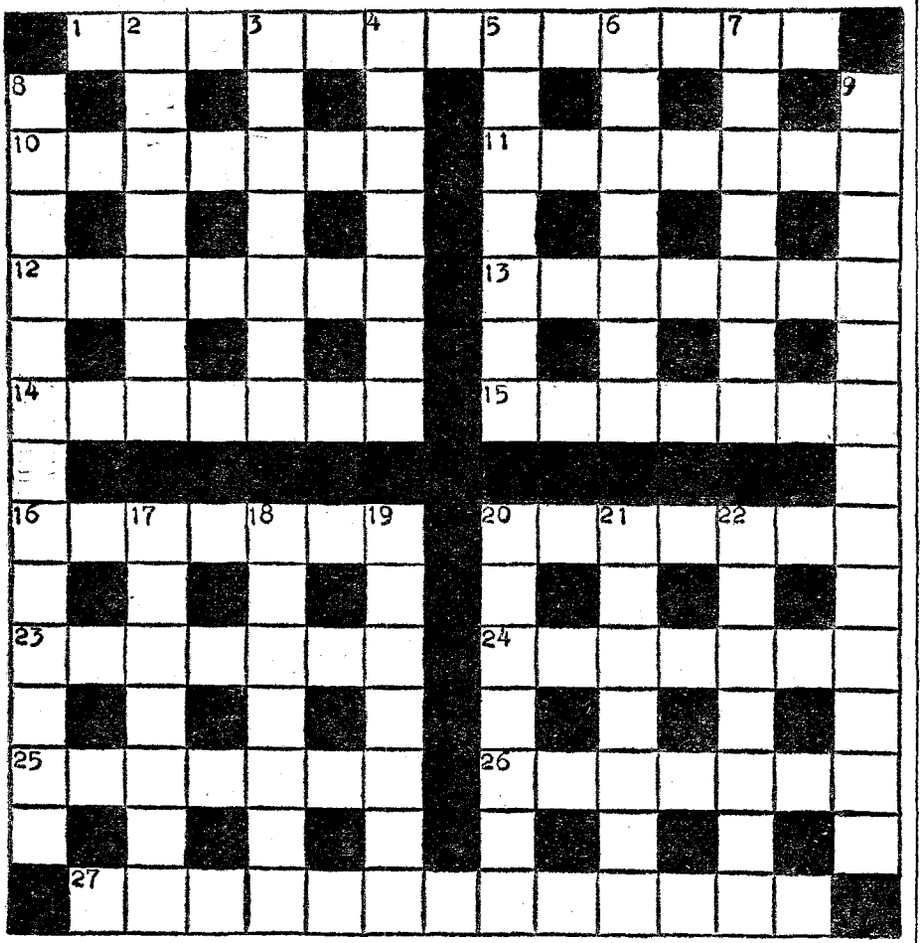
Crossword Puzzle No. 432

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Putting everything outside of where accounts are settled? (8, 5)
10 Assails with pop-guns? (7)
11 Change of attire; a singer doesn't take long for it. (7)
12 Such female spirits were likely to get dampened! (7)
13 Vulcanite. (7)
14 The Christmas Carol accuses them of being secret, self-contained, and solitary. (7)
15 What a pivot tooth might be expected to do. (7)
16 Appearing in the seamen's altogether? (2, 5)
20 Evidently at least one member is out of order. (7)
23 A little ring around the capital. (7)
24 Would one of these typify the "Spirit of Ancient Rome"? (7)
25 Out-of-state way to get cleared. (7)
26 Confound New York city! (7)
27 A verse is not as likely to be emphatic! (13)

DOWN

2 There are a lot of funny stories about one of the second triumvirate. (7)
3 Sounds like gas at the battle place. (7)
4 Dwells on 27. (7)
5 The first or second, for example, aren't the kind that smooth the way for others. (7)
6 Venezuelan flower? (7)
7 Brooding might be just a pose to the artist. (7)
8 A poisoned drum! So that's the way it works! (5, 8)
9 Erin go bragh, for example? (3, 10)
17 Threatens other than aviatrixes, obviously! (7)
18 Ravel can't seem to get started with it; on edge, evidently. (7)
19 One or the other of 6 goes for naught. (7)
20 Parts of the club are cut the same as Gaillard. (7)
21 Where a Mohammedan finds his leader out of uniform. (2, 5)
22 Confuse the first words of both clue and answer to 9, and you'll find it to be appropriate. (7)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 431

ACROSS:—1 NORMAL SCHOOLS; 9 BRIER; 10 ANTIPHONY; 11 ENHANCE; 13 STAID; 14 QUARRYING; 16 OBSTINATE; 18 PHASE; 19 LUCERNE; 21 PREDICT; 22 GRADATION; 23 SHAKO; 24 IN HIGH DUDGEON.

DOWN:—1 NOBLESSE OBLIGE; 2 RAILHEADS; 3 APRONED; 4 SPATE; 5 HOT TAMALE; 6 ON PAPER; 8 and 7 BY THE GREAT HORN SPOON; 14 QUAVERING; 15 INANIMATE; 17 IN REACH; 18 and 12 PLEASED AS PUNCH; 20 COATI; 21 PINED.

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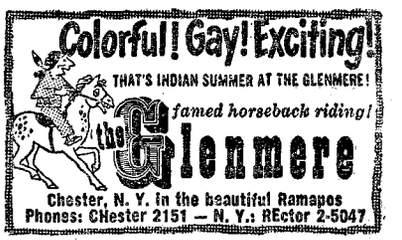
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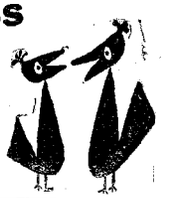

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